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The Christian Socialist

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The Trusts and Their Methods

BY REV. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.—Galatians, vi, 2.

The law of Christ is that of comradeship or brotherhood, mutual service, loving regard to the welfare of others, and sacrifice of self interests for the sake of advancing those of the men and women who are poor and needy. While there can be no doubt that this is what Christ taught, and what he lived during his brief human career, it is difficult to reconcile it with what is accepted and practiced as Christianity at the present time. In business we find that the controlling law is assumed to be that of competition, each one seeking his own advantage. That each individual Christian is his brother's keeper, required by the spirit of Christ to bear the burdens of others, is apparently not reconcilable with business practice.

This problem has greatly puzzled Tolstoy, the bravest ethical teacher of our time. He contends that modern life and Christianity are wholly irreconcilable with each other, that they have different aims, and lead to widely variant results. In many a writing he has voiced his vigorous and eloquent protest against the worldliness, the selfishness, and the corruptions of the time; and has found many to listen to him, and to accept his idealism, his vigorous asceticism, and his insistent law of non-resistance as true expressions of the Christian spirit. His endeavor is to become a Christian after the pattern of Christ, therefore he condemns the religion popular in the churches of Christendom and accepted by millions who profess to be followers of the lowly Nazarene. Many others are also awake to the disparity between Christian profession and practice. A yawning gulf opens between what men profess and the manner of their lives.

It is not difficult to discard Christianity because of this disparity. The churches may be held up to scorn because they do not truly imitate the Master they profess to follow. Somehow, we must recognize, the church-life has grown perfunctory, institutional, devitalized. Criticism merely as such is of little service, however, and does not bring a revival of the truly ethical life Christianity ought to produce. It is not enough to condemn, but we ought to find out causes. Why is the Christianity of today not that of service and self-abnegation? Why is it that of competition and self-assertion?

In considerable degree the cause of this irreconcilable divergence of profession and practice is to be found in economic conditions. The Bible in both the Old and New Testaments reflects an age of simple economic life, tribal at first, but developing into an incipient stage of handicrafts. In the earlier books the clan spirit is the dominating one, which is that of blood-brotherhood, mutual service, and undying loyalty and devotion to those of the clan—fellowship. With the advance of political life into that of a kingdom of barbarian type, this simple spirit of brotherhood died away. The prophets, speaking out of the results of the bitter experiences of their people, sought a revival of this simple life of fellowship and service. They identified this revival with loyalty to Jehovah, and with patriotic devotion to the Hebrew nation. The brotherhood of the clan was to be widened to include the nation, and all who knew Jehovah were to be as members of the same family. A real Utopia was to be produced as the result of that ethical and spiritual faith developed by the prophets.

Jesus was a genuine successor to the prophets. He was of their clan. He entered actively into their fellowship. Their spirit was the dominating one in his teachings and in his work. The spirit of the clan was also in him. The communal life of the early days had for him its incentive and its inspiration. Through the Essenes and others of like temper and purpose he saw that the life of fellowship, service and self-sacrifice is the abiding one. He went beyond the prophets, though their spirit was in him. They were Hebrews, but he belonged to mankind. They worshipped Jehovah, the Hebrew God; he worshipped a Father in Heaven, the God of all men who live. They sought a Jewish Utopia, he desired a kingdom of universal good-will and brotherhood. He was a friend of the poor and went about doing good. He had not where to lay his head, and his followers shared all things in common. He was the friend, the elder brother, the loving companion of the outcast and wretched.

New economic conditions came with the growing power of the Roman Empire. Christianity reconciled itself as best it could to world-empire, to slave rule, to serfdom of the poor, to the domination of force. A great church came to be the official representative of the man who had not where to lay his head. It elaborated a system of ritual, law, and ethics, all in harmony with force and feudal control. But there grew up with it a developing life of handicrafts, natural law, and individual rights. In time these came to make a place for themselves in the world, and to set forth the economic law of competition. Force and competition! How could these be made compatible with brotherhood and self-sacrifice?

It is not necessary to reconcile them, except for a Francis and a Tolstoy. Most men take them as they are taught in church and school, without attempt at reconcilation. In deed, they never discover that they are not in the most perfect harmony with each other. Hence, we see the spectacle of devout Christians who are regarded as robbers of the people by those who are critical of modern conditions. Love in the church, competition in the business-house; and no discovered discrepancy between them! Devotion to one who was an outcast and a beggar by those who live in luxury, and control millions of wealth and thousands of lives!

One need not be a revolutionist to see and deeply feel the ethical discord in these facts. The difficulty is not merely one of religion, but it is one of economics as well. Christianity is bearing the burdens of others. Business is competition, and success on the part of the individual for individual ends. Is Christianity as service a falsehood? Or is competition not the law of the economic world?

It cannot be assumed that Christianity now will be in all respects an echo of that of the first generation. We cannot go back to the Essenian life. We cannot revive the renewed communism of the first generation. Any attempt to do this would lead us far astray, and afford no solution of our difficulties. What we need is a revival of faith in comradeship, mutual service, and the law of self-sacrifice; and to so adjust them to economic conditions as to make them workable.

That which makes the ethical problem of our time is the assumed law of competition. The science of Economics has had competition as its cardinal principle, its eternal law. The primary motive in business has been made that of struggle, individual effort to succeed, the assertion of self-interest. The greatest commercial and industrial country in the world has based its prosperity on this idea, and a great school of economic thinkers, following the practice of its merchants and its manufacturers as giving the true law of business, have accepted this doctrine of competition as fundamental. Economic freedom, non-interference with the right of a man to buy in the lowest market and sell in the highest, control of business by the law of self-interest, control of commerce by the principle of *laissez faire*, control of labor on the theory that freedom of contract is an eternal law of human welfare—these have been the doctrines accepted and followed. They have been written into economic treatises by great thinkers and leaders of opinion. The British Empire has been built up on this basis, and come to a great prosperity and a world-dominion.

We in America have accepted the same doctrines as final, but in a broader spirit. The growing spirit of freedom and democracy has touched us in many ways, as it did not the more aristocratic England. Our life at first was simpler, individual freedom meant more under our primitive economic conditions, and we have magnified the right of the individual to do his own thinking and to direct his own conduct. The result has been that we have given great emphasis to personal freedom and the law of competition. Natural rights and competition mean the same thing, with differences of application. Freedom of contract is the legal side of personal freedom.

The law of competition demands that every man shall seek his own advantage, undersell others if necessary, buy labor and raw materials where he can find them cheapest, and make sure of his own success and prosperity. It has foundations enough in fact to give strength and power to its law. Yet it has its limitations, not always seen, and yet somewhat serious when recognised. It tends to hinder its own prosperity, to limit its own activity. Competition will defeat itself, if pushed too far. When the struggle becomes too insistent some one or more of the competitors must suffer defeat. Or, if they are not compelled to withdraw from the contest, they are hindered and crippled.

In so far in any epoch as competition has come into control of industry and large-scale production it has tended to produce crises in the business world. In the earlier ages famine came,—disaster, shipwreck, wide-spread disease, calamities of one kind or another. These brought serious social evils after them, that decimated populations or wrecked States for the time. There were also the business crises due to speculation, such as the tulip-mania or the South-sea bubble. When competition came into industry and business, then financial crises came and came with periodic regularity.

When each industry in a nation, and each man connected with an industry, is speeding up his business to its highest limits in order to defeat others or to gain the most for himself, and the two mean essentially the same thing, it is certain that at some point difficulty will come, and disaster. The competitive is the most costly of all methods of production, and the most sensitive to conditions. Each business requires, when competition is sharp, that effort shall be made to secure purchasers, at whatever cost. Customers must be sought, persuaded, and retained by persistent effort. Advertising must be resorted to, without regard to expense. Money is borrowed, the business is enlarged, and it is pushed to the last limit of its capacity. Speculation is resorted to as one of the phases of competition, and it grows more daring and confident. Then comes the crisis, with demand that debts shall be paid, followed by loss of confidence, general distrust, and business collapse.

Throughout the nineteenth century in all industrial countries but most conspicuously in the United States, crises followed each other in ten-year periods, with great regularity. In this country their dates were 1814, 1818, 1826, 1837, 1847, 1857, 1869, 1873, 1883, 1893, the severest being those of 1837, 1857, and 1893. No one who has studied them carefully can fail to see their connection with competition, as directly and necessarily their cause.

Certain phases of competition are usually disregarded by its

(*Continued on Page 8*)

The Christian Socialist FELLOWSHIP

REV. LUCIEN V. RULE, *Secretary*, GOSHEN, KY.

REV. WILLIAM A. WARD, *Treasurer*, HENDERSON, KY.

In Galilee.

In Comradeship's congenial Galilee
He wandered day by day where'er he would
Without a thought but doing others good.
Among Life's hills and by her sunny sea
He taught Love's Kingdom that will surely be
When men who toil shall beautify and bless
This world of sickness, sorrow and distress.
The little children climbed upon his knee
And found the Father in his kindly face,
While mothers marveled at his words of grace.
He wept and prayed beneath the midnight dome,
And came at morning to some Bethany home
Waiting with welcome, warm, sincere and sweet,
Ready to listen, sitting at Love's feet.

—L. V. R.

An encouraging word about our social revival work. It is now just a year since we began at Utica, Ind. My comrade, Rev. Frank S. Goodman and I addressed a small audience at the town hall a year ago. Sunday, Aug. 26, special morning and evening services were arranged. The Baptist pulpit was accorded us last winter. This is the church of the common people, "the folks," as Bro. Wattles calls them. To show what our Fellowship offers as a field for woman's work, Indiana has two noble sisters in the circle, Mrs. A. E. Matteson, of Marion, and Miss Henrietta Smith, of Utica. Miss Smith became interested a year ago, and was one of the delegates and charter members of the Fellowship in Louisville. She is a very cultured and loving soul, a Methodist humanitarian, teacher in the town school, and student of social problems. Modest and quiet but loyal and true to the cause, she has been a tower of strength, reminding our Fellowship evangelists of those "noble women not a few" mentioned in the New Testament. Intelligent and tactful, she shows us just how to meet this situation or solve that emergency. And she is the idol of the neglected poor. She arranges the music for the meetings, and had a fine group of voices for the services, Aug. 26. Thomas B. Broy, an old and faithful comrade, works tirelessly in the Fellowship evangelism also. We are much indebted to him. The morning service was not largely attended but was a most blessed meeting. I preached on: "The Mind of Christ and the Social Problem." My brother, C. W. Rule, Presbyterian elder and Socialist, also delivered a strong appeal for the cause. Bro. Goodman assisted, and preached at night to a large crowd upon Luke 12: 13-34. It was a model economic and moral summary of the world conditions making or unmaking humanity, and Bro. Goodman testified so powerfully as between mere individualistic salvation and the social vision and salvation wherein a man loses his old life and self in order to find both anew in the common welfare that one could hear a pin fall at this part of the discourse. The local Methodist minister, a noble young man who has attended our services whenever possible, made the closing invocation, and the day ended with a newly awakened people. We enjoyed the good fellowship of Miss Smith, her mother and sisters. It is a home of the Kingdom that will be remembered in days to be. The absence of Mrs. Goodman was greatly regretted, as she is a pleasing speaker in some of our meetings. We were invited to continue to supply the Baptist pulpit while vacant, and this gives us the ear of the entire town. We hope to have Bro. Wattles hold a revival there in months to come. My brother will do pastoral visiting and personal work among the people this fall, and my father, a Presbyterian home missionary and Christian Socialist, will preach there also. In two years, with the present Fellowship outlook we can dot the entire country with centers of the social leaven. Let us now see how these scattered individuals and sections are coming in touch, and what a power they will prove in hastening the Great Social Revival.

From Comrade Donaldson of Iowa: "It is inspiring to note the interest being taken in this new organization with its tell-tale name 'Christian Socialist Fellowship.' Socialism takes hold upon the spiritual man of itself; appeals to him, commands him, and gets his service by its own inherent worth. Yet in this day when applied Christianity is really being seriously tthought of and hoped for, it is inspiring to see it enter the realm of Socialism and champion the cause of industrial freedom. Our meeting at Louisville was but a beginning, the mustard seed sown. It is not what was done there. It was the opportunity which the future holds of growth and expression, that makes this meeting memorable. When work in this state can be done to advantage I hope to hear from you and will do what I can to aid you here as a member of the executive committee from Iowa."

From Comrade J. R. White, Masois, Texas: "Having seen in 'Wilshire's Magazine' that you are Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship,' am writing you for an outline of its purposes, duties and any other information you can furnish. I am very much interested in Socialism. To my mind the only thing necessary to bring about Socialism is to get the question properly before the religious teachers of the day. I have been, in a limited way, circulating Socialist literature based on the Christian Scriptures, but of course can do but little alone. In any way I can aid and help you, I am at your service."

From Comrade G. H. Poor, 591 Scott St., Milwaukee, Wis.: "I herewith enclose two applications for membership in the Fellowship. I have been looking around what time I have and think the prospects bright for a good branch before long. Comrade Thompson is out west speaking but will join with us when he returns. We are also getting a few of Moyer's song books, which will be a great help." Comrade Poor then mentions an uneasiness in the minds of some Milwaukee comrades that we are not clear in our loyalty to the organized political movement in America. We referred him to the resolution adopted in Louisville. He truly advises that "we should keep all sectarian and dogmatic diversions out of the movement" and subscribes himself for the cause of Christ in the good of humanity.

From Comrade T. Hickling, 628 W. Monroe St., Jacksonville, Fla.: "Enclosed find one dollar for my membership in the Fellowship. I hope there will be thousands of accessions. Jesus Christ is coming, but the indications are lost to the great majority. However, more eyes will yet be opened. Yours for religious, spiritual, and social unity, which cannot take place until men are economically and industrially free."

From Minister I. H. Teel, Christian Church, Eureka, Cal.: "My dear Bro.: I have just received a copy of Presbyterian Edition of the Christian Socialist, which gives me much joy to know that my brethren i nthe ministry are organizing for more practical work in sweetening life. I have been an active single taxer and socialist for a number of years but found little fellowship in the ministry. But thank our Heavenly Father that many are now being led into economic light that will lift the burden so that all of us may have a better opportunity of developing the good within us. As I am sending off three dollars for copies of the Christian Socialist for propaganda purposes I will not now remit my dollar as an active member in the Fellowship, but I am with you heart and soul."

From Dr. C. H. Reed, Toledo, O.: "A few days since I received a circular from you notifying me that I had been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the C. S. Fellowship organization. I accept the appointment and shall endeavor to do my duty therein.....If an enterprise I am now busily engaged in 'pans out' as I expect I hope to be able to contribute more liberally to our great cause. I know, under the system, of no better way than to return to the people as much as I can of that taken from them through rent, interest and profit, in our effort to educate them along the lines of fundamental truth, a knowledge of which alone can make men free, give them who labor the promised rest, lighten their burdens, ease their yoke."

From Dr. Geo. W. Coonce, Sapp, Boone Co., Mo.: "I notice in Wilshire's Magazine of the formation of a Christian Socialist Fellowship. Please let me know about its principles in general. I am, in religion and organization, a Missionary Baptist, but do not like the attitude of our church as regards Socialism. As I understand Christ's teachings God is love, which should be universal. Christ is the Son or Offspring of God, denoting action, and I claim it is unreasonable to claim one (love) and be devoid of the other (action). I believe fully in the teachings, as I understand. If we have the Father and Son as taught we are nigh unto heaven, which I sincerely believe we can have under a Christian Brotherhood universal and a co-operative social form of government in which the producer will derive the full product of his labor. Hoping we may get together in our religious views so as to become a unity politically and religiously and world wide, I remain, sincerely and fraternally."

Persecution In Georgia.

The Christian Socialist,

Comrades: Comrade James B. Osborne, candidate for Governor of Georgia on the Socialist ticket, was arrested Thursday, Aug. 23rd for holding a public meeting on the street. After being refused a permit, notification was served on the Mayor and the chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners that we would hold a series of meetings, the first one being held Tuesday, Aug. 21st, being unmolested (presumably, on account of the Democratic primaries). The trial of Comrade Osborne was held yesterday (the 24th) and he was sentenced to serve 30 days in the stockade.

Comrades, we have entered this fight and intend to win, but we need your assistance and those Comrades wishing to see a successful finish to this fight will please send contributions to,

A. WAMSER, Fin. Sec.,
398 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga.

To Liberate Our Comrades.

To The Christian Socialist, Danville, Ill.

The convention instructs me to hand you the following:

Whereas, Chas. H. Moyer, Wm. D. Haywood and George H. Pettibone are unlawfully held by the state of Idaho, therefore be it

Resolved that we, Socialists of the 8th Congressional District, in convention assembled this 20th day of August, ask Judge Frank P. Smith to give these prisoners an immediate hearing, or otherwise to liberate in conformity with the custom prevailing in the civilized world. J. W. Hardy, Chairman; G. B. Ruth, Secretary, Halstead, Kansas.

The New Age.

By the Rev. G. Reiche, Columbia Station, Seattle, Wash.

That there is a **new age** upon us, no one can deny, who does not walk blindly through this world. And the prophetic book of the New Testament holds out to every christian the hope inspiring promise, **"Behold, I make all things new."**

We know that the Apostolic Church which made love to God and man the central point of all religion, perverted very soon this main doctrine, and thereby sold herself into the captivity of evil and falsehood. From the time of Constantine on, this church has been under the control of emperors, feudal lords, kings, and money oligarchies. Our present and exceedingly perverted capitalism and commercialism make this control and captivity more complete.

It cannot be denied that the now prevailing laws of economics,—the present mode of combined production and distribution, including the hellish sweatshops and a brutalizing child labor in factories—have created enormous riches to a small minority, and an industrial slavery to the great majority. And the commercialism connected therewith is down right robbery. It is generally admitted that the so-called law of "Supply and demand" regulates a **just conduct** of action between man and man. But this **commercial law** is the very essence of selfishness, which always seeks to profit at the expense of the suffering fellowman. But this is all diametrically opposite to the **two great commandments, and the golden rule.** Consequently the prevailing economic laws are, by common consent, allowed to determine what common justice should be, or what is to be considered right and honorable between man and man.

And to elevate such usury, such unjust and dehumanizing practices to the honor of the law of the land; and even more, to hear ministers defend them like gospel truths and thus to create a moral law or ethical code directly opposite to the Divine Word is the anti-Christ. And there are only too many misguided but honest souls who believe such teachings to be true, and that such gross injustice is to be defended. These perverted truths are the false christs, against which the Lord warned.

It should therefore not be considered so strange that our Lord promised to come again, with greater power and glory of truth to establish a **New Age,** or Dispensation,—but not as a limited personality, because this would be retrogression instead of progression. He promised to come again as the **Spirit of Truth.**

It is, however, not to be overlooked that, notwithstanding the constant deterioration of the church, there were always warnings raised out of that **wilderness** of a church against prevailing evils, according to the Lord's promise to the disciples, **"Lo, I am with you always, even to the consummation of the age."** But these voices in the wilderness could have but limited results, on account of the prevailing economic falsehoods and injustice, and downright perversions of the divine truth.

Yes; the **consummation of the age** is passed, and the **New Age** is upon us, and God is in it. Let therefore the Church of the New Age drop those non-essentials, which are so many seeds of dissensions, and therefore contrary to the Lord's prayer, "That they all may be one; as thou Father, in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.'

And the principal doctrine of the unity of the church, binding upon all Christians is: God in Christ for the fulfillment of the two Great Commandments, and the Golden Rule, unadulterated by the prevailing unjust and partial economics which now make the Divine Truth of no effect.

This **New Age** is the prophecy and commencement of a new and **uncontradictory exegesis** of the **Divine Word,** of a **new** psychology, a **new spiritology** of **new metaphysics, philosphy, ethics, sociology** and **economics,** free of all injustice to any one.

This promised **New Age** is described in the prophetic and symbolic book of the New Testament, as the New Jerusalem, the symbolic and comprehensive term for church, individual and collective, as coming **down upon the earth,** from God, to **"make all things new."**

Socialism, the new and rapidly growing political party, is evidently a fruit of the **New Age.** It is the inevitable conflict between unjust and just economics. It grows out of the generally felt injustice of the ruling parties on the material and external field of human life. And this material as natural existence, upon which the well being of the whole race finally must rest, must also lay the foundation for all political and economic improvements.

The present industrial slavery, the overbearing insolence of a heartless oligarchy, and the constantly increasing centralization of money and power into fewer hands, compel people to think and work for material improvement from selfish desires.

This is not disorderly as the first and necessary step for better and improved conditions. But those Socialists make a mistake who imagine that the fruit of this **new life** is simply caused by man's foresight, or that it is the work or result of a planless evolution.

It is not the intention of this article to criticise; but it is merely the intention to assist people to think that it requires a far greater credulity to imagine that any thing can make itself, or raise itself above itself, than to have a reasonable faith in the **Fountain** of the **Eternal Love and Wisdom.**

And selfishness, even if it is **"refined selfishness,"** can never regenerate an individual, nor society; it has the seedof jealousy, of discord, of hatred, of decay, in its own bosom, and it will surely crop out when the opportunity arrives.

Altruism, unselfish love, love of use to all, free from self-love, originating in and flowing from the Eternal Love and Wisdom are absolutely necessary for the planting and upbuilding of a perpetual commonwealth in which justice will reign. Because the two Great Commandments and the Golden Rule, translated into the general conduct of the every day life, will create the greatest and now undreamed of revolution against all iniquity.

A Vision Of Calvary.

By V. J. Daley.

I had an evil dream:
The Great Sea moaned for breath;
The Great Green Earth did seem
Grey in the grasp of Death.

The sky was dark with doom,
But, in the vault afar,
There, glittering through the gloom,
A single smiling star.

Upon the Mount of Loss
I saw a vision dread—
Satan astride the Cross
In hose and doublet red.

With mockery and mirth
His sombre visage shone;
The Kingdoms of the Earth
He seemed to gaze upon.

He gave the royal sign,
And looked down with sad scorn
Upon the Head Divine
Crowned with its Crown of Thorn.

Then to that Figure Wan
Approached a tall full-fed
Roman Centurion—
A mitre on his head.

He shed no useless tear,
But, cold and solemn-eyed,
With a long crozier-spear
He pierced the Saviour's side.

And from that side there ran,
Most wondrous to behold,
Through all the lands of Man
A stream of ruddy gold.

Through long dim centuries
It ran, a river wide,
And men with chalices
Sat down its banks beside.

Men clad in mystic gear—
Mitre and shovel hat—
For many and many a year
They quaffed it and grew fat.

Still on the Mount of Loss,
In evil dreams I see
Satan astride the Cross,
Smiling in mockery.

But in the vault afar,
Gleaming the Cross above,
I see the Smiling Star
That is the Star of Love.

The splendid edition containing Comrade Strobell's able article, "A Christian View of Socialism" is now going out by the thousands. Don't you want to help make this a vaster power for good by ordering a big bundle for the Presbyterians of your vicinity? It is an excellent number to hand to any christian. Have you done your part? Keep the press going on this great article. Only one cent each in bundles.

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ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

BY GEO. H. STROBELL

The New York Worker says that the Austrian Socialists have at last practically attained universal equal suffrage and they are preparing for the coming election with the certainity of a great increase in the Socialist representation in the Reichsrath. The great cities under the new apportionment will receive a considerable increase in the number of representatives. The law also provides for a measure at least of security against intimidation and the general abuse of the right of suffrage which has existed heretofore. The exact wording of the law is as follows: "Each person of the male sex shall be qualified to vote for representatives who has reached 24 years of age, is an Austrian citizen, and is not specifically excluded from the right of suffrage, and who shall have lived at least one year within the community in which he seeks to exercise the right of suffrage." Some idea of the extent of the change is gained by the fact that under the previous election law 172 out of 425 representatives were elected by indirect and viva voce vote, and that the Socialists were absolutely excluded from any voice in the election of these representatives. Furthermore, out of these 425 representatives only 22 were elected by universal suffrage, while now the entire 425 are so elected. The new law carries with it a new apportionment according to population, which will largely abolish the gerrymander previously existing.

The following letter has been transmitted by Comrade Huymmans, Sec'y of the International Socialist Bureau:

Paris, July 23rd, 1906.

"Dear Comrade Huysmmans:—

This letter is a post-dictum, a practical conclusion to the proposition of intervention against war, of the interparliamentary Socialist Organization, voted by the Conference at London. I ask you formally in the event of menace of German or Austrian interference in Russia, following upon the dissolution of the Douma, appearing to become a reality and to put in danger with the Russian Revolution the international Peace, to consider as actual the case forseen by the double resolution of Brussels (March 1906) and of London (July 1906) and to summon immediately at Brussels the International Socialist Bureau and the Interparliamentary Socialist Conference, to make the necessary steps of labor and Socialist Intervention, national and international.

Present time, the possibility of German Intervention, is only a matter of doubtful rumor and it is even denied in different quarters, but it would be imprudent not to take account of and not to watch, with a critical and attentive eye, the course of events.

With fraternal greetings,

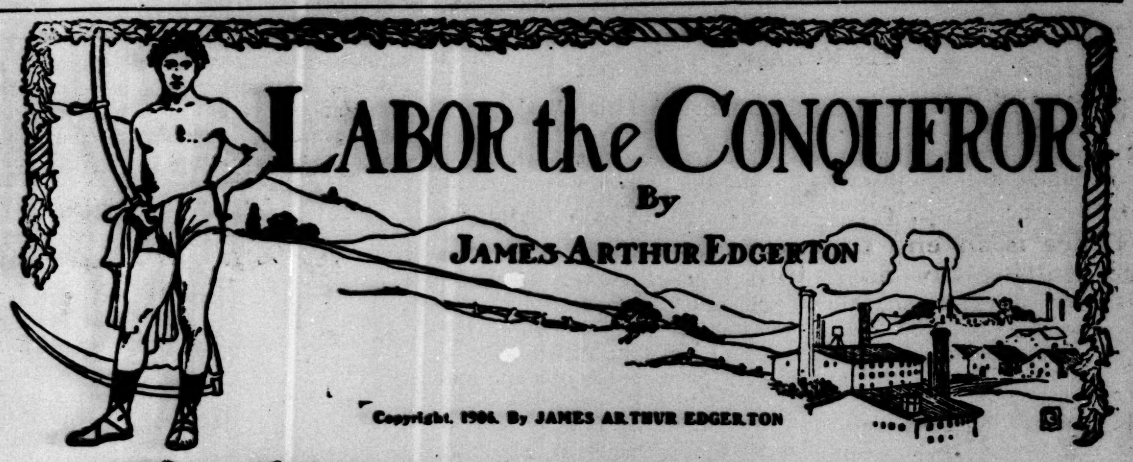
(Signed) Ed. Vaillant.

Parliament of Finland has granted the right of suffrage to women. The new Parliament will be composed of 200 members. These Socialists expect to fill 50 seats. Better than the U. S. But the Fins are not as enlightened as we! They speak a foreign language! !—Cleveland Citizen.

The Bookman, the asknowledged authority on literature, declares that "The Jungle" led all other books in sales last month. The average copies sold was 1,000 per day. What does it mean when a Socialist book leads all others in sales? It means that people are reading up on Socialism. Get in line! Don't be at the tail-end of the procession.

"Many people—even students of the times—are accustomed to think of Socialism as a distant, hazy cloud that may some day overspread the horizon, but which at present is in no wise threatening or to be reckoned with. Such people are usually those who study conditions in books and magazines and fail to feel the pulsation of sentiment in their very midst. Socialism, or at least its vanguard, is here. Socialism, whether first wearing the disguise of municipal ownership or government control of railroad rates, will be the dominant issue within the next six years. The evo-

(Continued on next page)



NOT with the tumult of bugle and drum,
Not with the weapons of strife,
Not with the death dealing hosts, do I come,
But with the armies of life.
I am a conqueror, not of mankind,
But of the forces of earth.
Not to despoil are my battles designed,
But to bring blessings to birth.
Not to destroy, but to build, is my part.
Largess I give and increase.
Mine are the conquests of science and art;
Mine are the triumphs of peace.

OVER the fields where I march are not seen
Hosts of the mangled and slain.
Rather are orchards and meadows of green
Splashed with the yellow of grain.
Not in my wake is a desolate land,
Covered with ruin and gloom.
Cities arise at the stroke of my wand;
Barrenness bursts into bloom.
This is my mission, to foster content;
This is my glory, to give,
For by the Lord of the earth I was sent
That all His children might live.

UNDER my magic the factories spring;
Fires on their forges I build.
Stores from the bosoms of mountains I bring;
Treasuries by them are filled.
Trains thread the continents at my command;
I make their highways of steel.
Ships on the sea are the work of my hand;
Mine are the men at the wheel.
Homes are my legacy; plenty, my gift.
Progress I lead in the van.
Mine is the province to teach and uplift.
I am the helper of man.

LIKE as the jewel is fashioned and wrought,
Like as the gold is refined,
So do I purify action and thought,
So do I burnish the mind.
I bring nobility out of the soul;
Call for man's highest and best;
I drive the race to a loftier goal,
Scourged by the fire of unrest.
Though by the urge of my rigorous reign
Men may grow weary and worn,
Yet from the midst of the travail and pain
All of the virtues are born.

I TOUCH the soul of inanimate things;
They into life are beguiled.
Under my contact the Beautiful springs;
Gardens come forth from the wild.
Out of the ore and the rock and the soil,
Out of the hill and the wood,
Called by the wizard transformer of toil,
Issue the useful and good.
Far up the mountain Achievement I march,
Leading mankind to the height,
Darkness and ignorance flee from my torch;
I am the bearer of light.

GAZE on my armies, O hoarder of gold;
Long have they labored for you,
Witness their handiworks—blessings untold
You have transferred to the few.
All of their bounties were meant for mankind,
Wealth for the general gain.
You would escape from my law? Oh, you blind!
There is an end to your reign.
I am uniting my hosts into one;
They shall inherit the earth.
Over the many is rising the sun;
Comes the new era to birth.

THOSE who enlist in my ranks shall possess
Fruits of my golden estate.
All of the millions of toil I will bless;
They shall enjoy who create.
Labor shall render rewards to her own
After God's equable plan;
They are the truest nobility known
Who render service to man.
Onward and upward I march to the height;
There are my standards unfurled,
Over them blazoned this legend of light:
Labor that conquers the world.

lution of the trust has changed the whole situation. Under natural forces our business world has developed an astonishing tendency toward concentration. Competition is recognized to have had its day. Something else must follow—is following. A virtual monopoly is coming upon the field everywhere. The superiority of the trust oranization has already demonstrated itself. Our great captains of industry have shown us how to organize and conduct business in other than a competitive basis. Socialists believe that they are developing the machinery for a socialistic state. They believe that it only remains for the people at large, through the city, state and nation, to take possession of the monopolies which it has allowed to grow up in the hands of capital, and to set the expert ability which the trust has developed at the task of carrying on these gigantic corporations in the interest of the people." —Herald, Newcastle, Pa.

The Socialists of Porto Rico are preparing for the next election. At a convention held at Guayama City an executive committee was elected to carry on a vigorous and systematic campaign. The election takes place in November. Nominations have already been made for councillor in every district, and General Secretary Rafael Alonso states that a full municipal and territoriol ticket will be placed in the field.

There is a vague idea prevalent in Socialist circles that a strong radical movement is opposed to the interests of the Socialist party movement, and will delay its growth. The weight of argument is against this feeling and still it exists. And nowhere is this feeling so rampant as when it touches upon the movement for direct legislation—the initiative referendum and imperative mandate. The more radical parties and movements exist the brighter the hopes of the Socialists and Switzerland the home of the referendum, where its priciples have entered most deeply into law and practice, shows a greater proportionate Socialist vote than ours. It is the greatest of blunders that our Comrades in Oregon and Utah and South Dakota do not start initiatory petitions that will induce campaigns of education along some line of Socialist activity. A very little non-partisan activity in assisting in the formation of the proposition to be voted upon and the getting of signatures, and quickly the whole state is in a radical agitation. The push is always toward progress. In Oregon there was first the state law. Then by petitions and vote the law was extended to ordinances in cities, towns and counties, giving cities and towns the exclusive right to enact and amend their own charters, and destroying the legislature's right to call constitutional conventions without a vote of the people. Here then is an ideal state of popular government. All it needs is education. This comes of agitation and agitation can easiest be caused by submitting the questions to the people.

Most amazing are the news dispatches regarding the economic development going on in Japan. We cannot sufficiently appreciate the view and insight that pierces the the show and contradictions of western civilization and seizes upon the true line of development. All Japan is to be one trust. All the news indicate a clear purpose "to protect, supervise, develop and nationalize all Japanese industries. The provision for the nationalization of the railways was but a single step in the great plan of industrial nationalization "toward which the country is approaching." Of course we realize that we may see a state of benevolent feudalism established, but we can trust the democratic tendency of the age sufficiently not to be alarmed at such a bogie. I have often held that the nation which first adopts a sane and economical system of industry will gain so largely in wealth and power that other nations will be forced to do like wise, and until the masses in Japan participate in the wealth they create their up to date economy will certainly play havoc with western industry.

The year 1906 marks the beginning of the "Federation of the World," the interparliamentary union, a body of over 2,000 national law makers representing all nations, is unanimous for converting the forthcoming Hague conference, called at its request, into a permanent body, assembing automatically and periodically. This plan will be presented to the second Hague conference with the entire influence of the Interparliamentary Union behind it. The second Hague conference will certainly listen attentively to its request for the periodic assembling of such a body, and, regardless of the action taken by that conference, the current of events will force the nations to send representatives to such a conference every few years.

"It is practically certain, therefore, that a permanent International Parliament will be created at an early day, and I am satisfied also that the union will declare for a general arbitration treaty.

The Socialist movement, coherent, reliable, ever advancing with about 50 millions of adherents among all nations is something to arrest attention, to be studied. To the christian who knows why it came into being and what its principles and objects are, it is the greatest proof of modern times that God reigns and orders all things in the world. It assures the truth of revelation. How? You'll have to study that out in its every phase and satisfaction for yourself. There are some things that cannot be bought ready-to-wear.

There is a tremendous significance in two late court decisions. We know, but can hardly appreciate, how important the great body of female wage workers is in keeping labor in subjection. We think of this labor as spasmodic, but a recent exchange states that there are about 3,500 female iron workers employed in foundries, furnaces and rolling mills alone. This is but a suggestion as to the whole number employed. In New York the state law restricting the labor by women and children to ten hours a day and sixty hours a week in a factory was declared in a decision handed down by Judge Olmsted in the court of special session, to be "an unwarranted invasion of constitutional rights." The ruling was concurred in by Justices McKean and Deuel. An exactly contrary decision was handed down by the Superior Court in Oregon which affirms the constitutionality of laws limiting hours of labor. "The Worker" says this contradiction is "remarkable." We fail to see anything remarkable in it. There is no way by which the laboring element can get back at the judges in New York. While in Oregon the people can pass upon the judge's decision by the initiative and referendum and make laws of their own on this subject or any other. And it will be a prudent judge who will not run his head against such a stone wall. The people of Oregon, Utah, South Dakota and Nevada are fortunate in getting some measure of participation in government. I doubt very much if any other state gets it until Socialist legislators are in a majority. But our Socialists comrades in these states should make use of the initiative and referendum. It will help the party and push them into the battle line.

It is reported that every city in Canada will place Labor candidates in the field at the next national and provincial elections.

The hypocrisy of the capitalist authorities was definitely illustrated in Milwaukee recently. After all the outcry about the Socialists "wanting to break up the home," the capitalist powers that be in this city are bitter against the Social-Democratic aldermen of Milwaukee for trying to protect the workingmen's daughters from ruin in saloons. One of the most abominable crimes of our great cities is the trapping and ruining of young girls of the working class. The Socialist aldermen are investigating and fighting these saloons. One of our aldermen personally inspected one of these premises, in which duty he was clearly acting within his rights as alderman. Yet for this investigation, at the instigation of the irate proprietor, he was fined $5.00 by a capitalistic judge. When the question of revoking the licenses of these places came before the city council, the motion was lost by a vote of 27 to 15, only six old-party aldermen having the courage to vote with our 12 Social Democrats for decency and protection of the young.

Would you like to take a Socialist daily. Send 25 cents to the Chicago Daily Socialist, 163 Randolph street, and you will get it for the two weeks before election day. Our comrades there will make a try at it. Help them to succeed. They hope for a permanent success. It will be 8 pages. They need 30,000 advance subscriptions, paper will be delivered by mail outside of Chicago, by carriers in the city. In this connection we want to remind our eastern friends that our New York comrades are always hard at work getting the necessary funds for their daily. There is about 18,000 pledged and collected and 50,000 is needed to begin with. There true papers are needed. Won't our readers help by getting donations and giving what can be spared. Comrade Julius Gerber, 461 Burhwick avenue, will forward membership blanks and receive subscriptions for the New York Call Association.

Everybody was amazed at the figures given out by the Pennsylvania Industrial Commission about a year ago when we heard that upwards of 17,000 lives were lost during 1904 in Allegheny county in industrial pursuits, and now comes the State Department of Mines of that State and in cold figures and conservative language, convicts the mine owners of manslaughter through their contemptuous violation of law and their neglect to provide ordinary precautions to preserve human life. Socialists have a more fitting term for such conduct. We call it murder. If you think this too strong, too extreme, read what Chief Roderick says: "The most imperative need is for more adequate protection for the lives and limbs of the men in and about the mines, particularly those who have not learned our language and consequently are not capable of fully understanding conditions so as to protect themselves. During the year there were 644 fatal accidents in the anthracite region (551 being inside the mines). In and about the bituminous mines 479 lives were sacrificed, a total of 1,123. The greatest loss of life during the year was caused by falls of coal, slate and roof."

The International Socialist Bureau is preparing for vigorous and concerted action by the Socialists of various countries in the event of the German and Austrian governments attempting to intervene with armed force to save the tottering autocracy in Russia. What would be the nature of such action may be inferred from events of the last two years in France, in Germany, and in the Scandinavian countries. When capitalist statesmen were trying to get up a war between Sweden and Norway, and when again they were fomenting hostilities between France and Germany, great bodies of Socialist workingmen in the countries concerned gave them plain warning that the declaration of war in either case would be taken as a signal for a great political strike in the railways and in the mines and factories and for wholesale desertion or mutiny in the armies, so as to paralyze both the opposing governments.—The Worker.

"He is a clipper," is the general testimony of the Wisconsin comrades in regard to the labors of National Organizer George H. Goebel, who is now touring the state. Comrade Goebel will continue his work in Wisconsin till the close of August.

Alderman Seidel (Social-Democrat) delivered a severe and telling rebuke to the mayor and chief of police in the last meeting of the Milwaukee City Council. Comrade Seidel had previously called the attention of the chief of police to certain disreputable saloons and resorts where girls of the working class are frequently trapped and ruined. The chief of police paid no attention to this complaint, but recommended that these saloons be granted licenses. This called out Comrade Seidel. He gave an appalling account of the work of ruin done in these dives, unchecked by the mayor and the police. The result was that the licenses were not granted. and the city authorities were placed in a very bad light. While all Socialists of course realize that only the abolition of the profit system can end the social evil, it is none the less their duty to lessen as far as possible the number of these places where the victims are inevitably the WORKINGMEN'S DAUGHTERS.

(Continued from page 7)

who have earned the highest places in industry, society and government.

A Friendly Rivalry.

There should be no unfriendliness between the honest individualist and the honest socialist; both seek that which they believe to be best for society. The socialist, by pointing out the abuses of individualism, will assist in their correction. At present private monopoly is putting upon individualism an undeserved odium, and it behooves the individualist to address himself energetically to this problem in order that the advantages of competition may be restored to industry. And the duty of immediate action is made more imperative by the fact that the socialist is inclined to support the monopoly, in the belief that it will be easier to induce the government to take over an industry after it has passed into the hands of a few men. The trust magnates and the socialists unite in declaring monopoly to be an economic development, the former hoping to retain the fruits of monopoly in private hands, the latter expecting the ultimate appropriation of the benefits of monopoly by the government. The individualist, on the contrary, contends that the consolidation of industries ceases to be an economic advantage when competition is eliminated, and he believes further that no economic advantage which could come from the monopolization of all the industries in the hands of the government could compensate for the stifling of individual initiative and independence. And the individualists who thus believe stand for a morality and for a system of ethics which they are willing to measure against the ethics and morality of socialism.

The Social-Democrats in the Milwaukee City Council introduced some important resolutions in the last council meeting. One resolution demands that a bill be introduced in the next State legislature "authorizing cities of the first class to own and operate street railways and issue bonds therefor and so acquire existing systems by condemnation proceedings." Another calls for municipal ownership and operation of telephone systems. Another runs as follows: "Whereas, the gas furnished by the Milwaukee Gas Company contains about the same percentage of wind as its stock contains water, and, Whereas, there is neither justice nor reason in being compelled to pay for wind which the gas company acquires as cheaply as it does the water in its stock; and, Whereas, such gross frauds will be practiced as long as the gas is furnished by a private monopoly, and Whereas, the cost of producing 1,000 cubic feet does not exceed 15 cents for which the monopoly charges 60 cents and $1.00. Resolved, that the city attorney be and he is hereby instructed to draw a bill to be introduced at the next session of the legislature providing that the cities of the first class may acquire the property of gas companies by condemnation proceedings and may sell gas to their citizens at the cost of production and distribution."

"Songs of Socialism" published by the Brotherhood Publishing Co., at 5035 Forestville ave., Chicago (formerly Battle Creek, Mich.) is by far the best Socialist song book published. In addition to the old songs there are many beautiful stirring new ones. Send 25 cents for a sample copy

A New Edition of Marx

To the Socialists of America:—

We have closed a contract for the manufacture of our own plates of the first volume of Marx's Capital, which hitherto we have been importing from England. The work is now under way, and we confidently expect to have copies ready by the first of August.

Our edition will correspond page for page with the English edition, but our plates will be electrotyped from new type, so that the print will be clearer and handsomer. The binding will also be handsomer, and what is still more important, it will be exactly uniform with the second and third volumes, which have never yet appeared in English, but which Ernest Untermann is translating, and which we expect to publish within the next two years. Comrade Untermann will read the proof of our edition of the first volume, correcting some errors which slipped through in the English edition, and he will also translate for it the preface of Engels to the latest German edition.

This undertaking demands an outlay of twelve hundred dollars for the plates and the first edition, and we ask the help of American socialists in the following ways:

1. Let every intending purchaser of "Capital" remit the price, $2.00 postpaid, to stockholders $1.20, and wait for our edition instead of insisting on the imported edition.

2. Let every one who has a copy of the imported edition in first-class shape send it to us in return for a copy of the new edition to be mailed when published. This will enable us to avoid importing more books to supply those who will not wait, and it will give those who accommodate us a uniform edition of the entire work when completed.

3. Let every Socialist local holding a share of stock get as many orders as possible for the book to be sent on publication, and send in the money by the middle of July. The price to stockholders will be a dollar a copy if sent at purchaser's expense, and if the order is for twelve or more copies we will send by freight; smaller orders must go by express. For forty dollars cash in advance we will send forty copies by freight prepaid to any stockholder in the United States.

4. Let every local that is not yet a stockholder subscribe for stock at once. We need twelve hundred dollars for these plates and books by the first of August, and the best and safest way to raise the money is by the sale of stock. Fraternally,

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY.

Keep It Up, Comrades.

That's right, bombard us with bundle orders for the special edition containing Strobell's fine article on Christianity and Socialism. See that it gets to every Christian in your vicinity. Do not miss this great chance. Send it to people of every church. Keep the press going on this most effective propaganda matter. Only one cent each in bundles, two cents each where we must address separate wrappers.

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EDITORS:

EDWARD ELLIS CARR, - - - Danville, Illinois
OSCAR F. DONALDSON, - - - Webster City, Iowa

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

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GEORGE H. STROBELL, - - - Newark, New Jersey.
PAUL H. CASTLE, - - - Central Park, Montana
J. STITT WILSON, - - - - Berkeley, California
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NO BILLS FOLLOW THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. If you get it REGULARLY, somebody has paid for it. When your subscription expires we will notify you.

Our readers must not forget that the larger part of the work on this paper, all the editorial work and business management, is done by people who are compelled to earn their living at other labor. Therefore when the paper does not get out on time, be patient.

The editor of the Christian Socialist has finished his summer chautauqua work and will now be available for lectures on Socialism, either from the economic or religious viewpoint or both. If time permits he would also be glad to conduct religious revivals or deliver popular or Socialist lectures in the winter courses.

From Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Florida, California and many places between come most inspiring letters of earnest, thankful appreciation of the work of the Christian Socialist and of Christian Socialists. We would be glad to print them all if space would permit. And we assure every writer that his devout words are of immeasurable encouragement to us. The notes of Comrade Rule in another column will give a hint of the glorious awakening that is taking place.

The Bravest Battle.

Joaquin Miller.

The bravest battle that ever was fought!
Shall I tell you where and when?
On the maps of the world you will find it not;
'Twas fought by the mothers of men.

Nay, not with cannon or battle shot,
With sword or nobler pen!
Nay, not with eloquent word or thought,
From mouths of wonderful men.

But deep in a walled-up woman's heart,
A woman that would not yield,
But bravely, silently bore her part—
Lo! there is that battlefield.

No marshaling troop, no bivouac song,
No banner to gleam and wave;
But, oh! these battles they last so long,
From babyhood to grave.

Yet, faithful still as a bridge of stars,
She fights in her walled-up town—
Fights on and on in the endless wars;
Then, silent, unseen, goes down.

O ye with banners and battle shot,
And soldiers to shout and praise,
I tell you the kingliest victories fought
Are fought in these silent ways.

O spotless woman in a world of shame!
With splendid and silent scorn,
Go back to God as white as you came,
The kingliest warrior born.

Individualism Versus Socialism

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, in Century Magazine

THE words "individualism" and "socialism" define tendencies rather than concrete system; for, as extreme individualism is not to be found under any form of government, so there is no example of socialism in full operation. All government being more or less socialistic, the contention, so far as this subject is concerned, is between those who regard individualism as ideal, to be approached as nearly as circumstances will permit, and those who regard a socialistic state as ideal, to be established as far and as fast as public opinion will allow.

The individualist believes that competition is not only a helpful, but a necessary, force in society, to be guarded and protected; the socialist regards competition as a hurtful force, to be entirely exterminated. It is not necessary to consider those who consciously take either side for reasons purely selfish; it is sufficient to know that on both sides there are those who with great earnestness and sincerity present their theories, convinced of their correctness and sure of the necessity for their application to human society.

As socialism is the newer doctrine, the socialist is often greeted with epithet and denunciation rather than with argument, but, as usual, it does not deter him. Martyrdom never kills a cause, as all history, political as well as religious, demonstrates.

Moral Passion Pervades Socialism.

No one can read socialistic literature without recognizing the "moral passion" that pervades it. The Ruskin club of Oakland, Cal., quotes with approval an editorial comment which asserts that the socialistic creed inspires a religious zeal and makes its followers enthusiasts in its propagation. It also quotes Professor Nitto of the University of Naples as asserting that "the morality that socialism teaches is by far superior to that of its adversaries;" and it quotes Thomas Kirkup as declaring in the Encyclopaedia Britannica that "the ethics of socialism are identical with those of Christianity."

It will be seen, therefore, that the socialists not only claim superiority in ethics, but attempt to appropriate Christ's teachings as a foundation for their creed. As the maintenance of either position would insure them ultimate victory, it is clear that the first battle between the individualist and the socialist must be in the field of ethics. No one who has faith in the triumph of the right (and who can contend with vigor without such a faith?) can doubt that that which is ethically best will finally prevail in every department of human activity.

Best Means of Development.

Assuming that the highest aim of society is the harmonious development of the human race, physically, mentally and morally, the first question to decide is whether individualism or socialism furnishes the best means of securing that harmonious development. For the purpose of this discussion, individualism will be defined as the private ownership of the means of production and distribution where competition is possible, leaving to public ownership those means of production and distribution in which competition is practically impossible, and socialism will be defined as the collective ownership through the state of all the means of production and distribution.

One advocate of socialism defines it as "common ownership of natural resources and public utilities and the common operation of all industries for the public good." It will be seen that the definitions of socialism commonly in use include some things which cannot fairly be described as socialistic, and some of the definitions (like the last one, for instance) beg the question by assuming that the public operation of all industries will necessarily be for the general good. As the socialists agree in hostility to competition as a controlling force, and as individualists agree that competition is necessary for the well being of society, the fairest and most accurate line between the two schools can be drawn at the point where competition begins to be possible, both schools favoring public ownership where competition is impossible, but differing as to the wisdom of public ownership where competition can have free play.

Common Ground.

Much of the strength developed by socialism is due to the fact that socialists advocate certain reforms which individualists also advocate. Take, for illustration, the public ownership of waterworks. It is safe to say that a large majority of the people living in cities of any considerable size favor their public ownership—individualists because it is practically impossible to have more than one water system in a city, and socialists on the general ground that the government should own all the means of production and distribution. The sentiment in favor of municipal lighting plants is not yet so strong, and the sentiment in favor of public telephones and public street car lines is still less pronounced, but the same general principles apply to them, and individualists, without accepting the creed of socialism, can advocate the extension of municipal ownership to these utilities.

Then, too, some of the strength of socialism is due to its condemnation of abuses which, while existing under individualism, are not at all necessary to individualism—abuses which the individualists are as anxious as the socialists to remedy. It is not only consistent with individualism, but is a necessary implication of it, that the competing parties should be placed upon substantially equal footing; for competition is not worthy of that name if one party is able arbitrarily to fix the terms of the agreement, leaving the other with no choice but to submit to the terms prescribed. Individualists, for instance, can consistently advocate usury laws which fix the rate of interest to be charged, these laws being justified on the ground that the borrower and the lender do not stand upon an equal footing. Where the money lender is left free to take advantage of the necessities of the borrower, the so called freedom of contract is really freedom to extort. Upon the same ground society can justify legislation against child labor and legislation limiting the hours of adult labor. One can believe in competition and still favor such limitations and restrictions as will make the competition real and effective. To advocate individualism it is no more necessary to excuse the abuses to which competition may lead than it is to defend the burning of a city because fire is essential to human comfort, or to praise a tempest because air is necessary to human life.

Man Needs the Spur of Competition.

In comparing individualism with socialism, it is only fair to consider individualism when made as good as human wisdom can make it and then to measure it with socialism at its best. It is a common fault of the advocate to present his system, idealized, in contrast with his opponent's system at its worst, and it must be confessed that neither individualist nor socialist has been entirely free from this fault. In dealing with any subject we must consider man as he is or as he may reasonably be expected to become under the operation of the system proposed, and it is much safer to consider him as he is than to expect a radical change in his nature. Taking man as we find him, he needs, as individualists believe, the spur of competition. Even the socialists admit the advantage of rivalry within certain limits, but they would substitute altruistic for selfish motives. Just here the individualist and the socialist find themselves in antagonism. The former believes that altruism is a spiritual quality which defies governmental definition, while the socialist believes that altruism will take the place of selfishness under an enforced collectivism.

Ruskin's statement that, "government and co-operation are in all things and eternally the laws of life; anarchy and competition eternally and in all things the laws of death," is often quoted by socialists, but, as generalizations are apt to be, it is more comprehensive than clear. There is a marked distinction between voluntary co-operation upon terms mutually satisfactory and compulsory co-operation upon terms agreeable to a majority. Many of the attempts to establish voluntary co-operation have failed because of disagreement as to the distribution of the common property or income, and those which have succeeded best have usually rested upon a religious rather than upon an economic basis.

Co-operation Must Be Voluntary.

In any attempt to apply the teachings of Christ to an economic state, it must be remembered that his religion begins with a regeneration of the human heart and with an ideal of life which makes service the measure of greatness. Tolstoi, who repudiates socialism as a substantial reform, contends that the bringing of the individual into harmony with God is the all important thing, and that, this accomplished, all injustice will disappear.

It is much easier to conceive of a voluntary association between persons desiring to work together according to the Christian ideal than to conceive of the successful operation of a system enforced by law wherein altruism is the controlling principle. The attempt to unite church and state has never been helpful to either government or religion, and it is not at all certain that human nature can yet be trusted to use the instrumentalities of government to enforce religious ideas. The persecutions which have made civilization blush have been attempts to compel conformity to religious beliefs sincerely held and zealously promulgated.

Human Selfishness Ever Present.

The government, whether it leans toward individualism or toward socialism, must be administered by human beings, and its administration will reflect the weaknesses and imperfections of those who control it. Bancroft declares that the expression of the universal conscience in history is the nearest approach to the voice of God, and he is right in paying this tribute to the wisdom of the masses; and yet we cannot overlook the fact that this universal conscience must find governmental expression through frail human beings who yield to the temptation to serve their own interests at the expense of their fellows. Will socialism purge the individual of selfishness or bring a nearer approach to justice?

Justice requires that each individual shall receive from society a reward proportionate to his contribution to society. Can the state, acting through officials, make this apportionment better than it can be made by competition? At present official favors are not distributed strictly according to merit either in republics or in monarchies. Is it certain that socialism would insure a fairer division of rewards? If the government operates all the factories, all the farms and all the stores, there must be superintendents as well as workmen; there must be different kinds of employment, some more pleasant, some less pleasant. Is it likely that any set of men can distribute the work or fix the compensation to the satisfaction of all or even to the satisfaction of a majority of the people? When the government employs comparatively few of the people it must make the terms and conditions inviting enough to draw the persons needed from private employment, and if those employed in the public service become dissatisfied they can return to outside occupations. But what will be the result if there is no private employment? What outlet will there be for discontent if the government owns and operates all the means of production and distribution?

Individualism Has Been Tested.

Under individualism a man's reward is determined in the open market, and where competition is free he can hope to sell his services for what they are worth. Will his chance for reward be as good when he must do the work prescribed for him on the terms fixed by those who are in control of the government?

As there is no example of such a socialistic state as is now advocated, all reasoning upon the subject must be confined to the theory, and theory needs to be corrected by experience. As in mathematics no one can calculate the direction of the resultant without a knowledge of all the forces that act upon the moving body, so in estimating the effect of a proposed system one must take into consideration all the influences that operate upon the human mind and heart, and who is wise enough to predict with certainty the result of any system before it has been thoroughly tried? Individualism has been tested by centuries of experience. Under it there have been progress and development. That it has not been free from evil is not a sufficient condemnation. The same rain that furnishes the necessary moisture for the growing crop sometimes floods the land and destroys the harvest; the same sun that coaxes the tiny shoot from Mother Earth sometimes scorches the blade and blasts the maturing stalk. The good things given us by our heavenly Father often, if not always, have an admixture of evil, to the lessening of which the intelligence of man must be constantly directed. Just now there are signs of an ethical awakening which is likely to result in reforming some of the evils which have sprung from individualism, but which can be corrected without any impairment of the principle.

Altruism Necessary.

The individualist, while contending that the largest and broadest development of the individual, and hence of the entire population, is best secured by full and free competition, made fair by law, believes in a spiritual force which acts beyond the sphere of the state. After the government has secured to the individual, through competition, a reward proportionate to his effort, religion admonishes him of his stewardship and of his obligation to use his greater strength, his larger ability and his richer reward in the spirit of brotherhood. Under individualism we have seen a constant increase in altruism. The fact that the individual can select the objects of his benevolence and devote his means to the causes that appeal to him has given an additional stimulus to his endeavors. Would this stimulus be as great under socialism?

Probably the nearest approach that we have to the socialistic state today is to be found in the civil service. If the civil service develops more usefulness and more altruistic devotion to the general welfare than private employment does, the fact is yet to be discovered. This is not offered as a criticism of civil service in so far as civil service may require examinations to ascertain fitness for office, but it is simply a reference to a well known fact—viz, that a life position in the government service, which separates one from the lot of the average producer of wealth, has given no extraordinary stimulus to higher development.

It is not necessary to excuse or to defend a competition carried to a point where it creates a submerged fifth, or even a submerged tenth, to recognize the beneficial effect of struggle and discipline upon the men and women

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